

NFRB

REFORM UNDER FIRE

Social Progress in Spain 1931-38

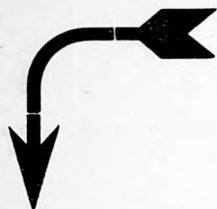
by

MARGARET STEWART

with a Preface by
G. T. GARRATT

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MARGARET STEWART

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G. T. GARRATT

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NOTE

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May 1938

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PREFACE

'Twice blessed is he who has his quarrel just, but ten times blessed who gets his blow in first.' General Franco's quarrel was not just, but being premeditated and well supported by funds, there is no doubt that the fascist case was put to the British public some months before the Spanish Government could mobilise any support in England. This accounts for the persistence of the 'Communist conspiracy' myth, and the widespread belief in the incompetence or worse of the Azaña Government.

It is therefore a pleasure to notice that a number of short accounts are now appearing which give the recent history of Spain without any bias. A plain statement of fact is the best answer to our Page-Crofts, Oswald Mosleys, Arnold Wilsons *et hoc omne genus*, who rely entirely on the general ignorance of Continental affairs.

All through the war there have been many English men and women working in Eastern Spain. Without exception they have testified to the stability and reasonableness of the Government. I trust that this pamphlet will reach a further section of the British public and spread some knowledge of what the Republicans have accomplished, before and after the Italo-German invasion.

G. T. GARRATT

REFORM UNDER FIRE

Social Progress in Spain 1931-8¹

1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the Spanish Republic since 1931 is one of a continuous and bitter struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. When on April 14, 1931, the announcement was made of King Alfonso's abdication and of the formation of the Provisional Republican Government, the populace went wild with joy. Scenes of enthusiasm and excitement were witnessed in the streets of Madrid, Barcelona and Seville, comparable to those which followed the declaration of the Armistice in the streets of London and Paris. The nation which had suffered under centuries of feudal, reactionary rule, experienced for the first time the meaning of the word 'hope'. It is true that progressive middle-classes had time and again tried to wrest power from the nobility, but whatever advances they made were fated, it seemed, to be reversed by the tide of reaction. 1931 was a bloodless revolution, which placed the Spanish middle-class in the position which had been won in England in the seventeenth century, in France in 1789, and in America with the Declaration of Independence.

REACTION

The Government which held office from April 1931 to November 1933 was a moderate Liberal-Socialist coalition, and though it scarcely touched the fringe of the social problem, it did at least attempt to raise the standard of living and introduce some social reform. But the Right, whose leaders were probably more united than at any time since, effectively sabotaged any real progress, and the new Conservative Government, under Lerroux, with the backing of Gil Robles, annulled such reforms as had been initiated. The Asturian rising in October 1934 against the oppression, was suppressed with indescribable ruthlessness, mainly by the importation of Moorish troops—a foretaste of what was to

¹ Sources of information, unless otherwise stated, are the decrees and statements issued by departments of the Spanish Government.

happen two years later. But as yet, the form of the Republic was maintained and, despite the attempts of Gil Robles to establish a dictatorship, the Cortes was duly dissolved at the end of its term, and the opportunity given to the people to express their will.

THE POPULAR FRONT

This they did in no uncertain terms. The result of the elections of February 1936 was a majority for the Popular Front parties.¹ The Government formed was the direct heir to the first Republican Government of 1931. It was a Liberal, moderate government, too naïve to believe evil of its enemies, and too slow in its pace to satisfy the land-hungry peasants and restless industrial workers. It had to face sabotage of its measures by the Right, including the deliberate provocation of 'incidents', which culminated in the murder of Calvo Sotelo, and, on the other hand, it had to contend with grave industrial and social unrest, which played into the hands of extremists. The policy it pursued was that recommended by Azana, of 'no dangerous innovations,' but in the three or four months of its life, the Government did much to resurrect and rehabilitate the reforms initiated in 1931.

REBELLION BY THE RIGHT

But the reactionary elements of Spain, the Church, the landlords, industrialists, financiers and the Army, with substantial foreign backing,² launched on July 18, 1936, their mightiest offensive against the Popular Front Government, which had dared to infringe, however little, upon their traditional 'rights' and property. The Liberal Government, unable to call on all sections of the population, gave place after the fall of Irun to a broad Government of national union, including Socialist, Communist, Liberal, and Basque Nationalist representatives. For nearly two years, the

¹ The Cortes elected on February 16th, 1936, was made up as follows:

| | Seats. | Votes obtained. |
|--|--------|-----------------|
| Parties of the Right .. | 143 | 3,996,331 |
| Centre | 55 | 449,320 |
| Popular Front (inc. Basque Nationals) | 256 | 4,838,449 |

(Information supplied by the Secretariat of the Spanish Parliament.)

² For details of foreign intervention in Spain previous to the rebellion, see *Nazi Conspiracy in Spain* (Gollancz) and *How Mussolini provoked the Civil War* (United Editorial), 1938.

people of Spain has been fighting for its very existence and for the right to attain a standard of living comparable with that of other European democracies. At the same time as it has had to organise the nation for war, and to cope with the emergencies arising out of war conditions, the Government has introduced a comprehensive scheme of social reform and tackled the problems of land reform, justice, disease, and illiteracy with a vigour and determination such as had never been displayed by any previous Spanish, and few other European Governments.

It is the purpose of this pamphlet to show some of the concrete achievements of the Popular Front Government in the sphere of social reform and economic reconstruction. I have dealt only incidentally with measures arising directly out of the war situation, although naturally the war overshadows every aspect of Spanish life and all the efforts of the administration have been directed towards the one object of victory. I have tried to indicate throughout, that the present rebellion of the Right is not an isolated attack, but the culmination of a long offensive against reform.

2 AGRICULTURE

The root of the Spanish problem lies in the question of agrarian reform. That agriculture is by far the most important industry in Spain can be seen from the fact that out of the pre-war population of 24 millions, 57% were occupied in agriculture. This figure compares with 6.1% for the United Kingdom, 30.5% for Germany, and 85% for the U S S R, in the latest census years. The structure of Spain has to this day remained on a semi-feudal basis, and the following table illustrates the inequality of the system of land distribution which still prevailed in 1933 :

| | No. | % | Land owned (hectares) ¹ | % |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----|---------------------------------------|------|
| Large landowners | 50,000 | 1 | 23,200,000 | 51.5 |
| Peasants owning large farms .. | 700,000 | | 15,800,000 | 35.2 |
| " " small " .. | 1,000,000 | 99 | 5,000,000 | 11.1 |
| Poor peasants | 1,250,000 | | 1,000,000 | 2.2 |
| Agricultural labourers | 2,000,000 | | — | — |
| | 5,000,000 | 100 | 45,000,000 | 100 |

¹ 1 hectare equals 2.5 acres.

This shows that a small minority of large landowners, most of whom were absentees, controlled more than half the cultivable land in Spain. The most powerful proprietors were the Duke of Medinaceli, owning 79,147 hectares, the Duke of Penaranda with 51,016, the Marquis de la Romana with 29,097, the Duke of Alba with 34,455, and eight other aristocrats who between them owned 142,146 hectares of land. After the confiscations of 1831, when the Church was forbidden to hold certain property, she appears to have got rid of most of her large holdings of real property and invested mainly in industrial and banking concerns. On the other hand, the indirect interests of the Church in the agrarian question were enormous, owing to the fact that the biggest landowners were influential Catholic families, and also owing to the existence of semi-charitable societies, which lent money to peasants at extortionate rates of interest, which they could never hope to repay.

As early as the sixteenth century, attempts were made to colonise under-populated areas. Royal orders of 1571 and 1573 condemned absenteeism and compelled colonists to live on their lots. But the law of entail permitted vast accumulation of property to be concentrated in the hands of the nobles, and none of the efforts made, particularly during the nineteenth century, to effect a more equitable distribution of power, had any success. To all intents and purposes, the situation in 1931 was the same as in the Middle Ages.

EARLY REFORMS

The first Republican Government contributed very little towards the solution of the problem. A law of agrarian reform was passed in September 1932, which ordered the compulsory cultivation of land and the execution of necessary works, such as irrigation, at the expense of the owners. There was originally no mention of expropriation without compensation in the Bill, but when the military rebellion of September, expropriation of the property of the nobility was authorised under certain circumstances. Such factors as the size of the estate, the degree of cultivation and the rents charged to tenants, were taken into account. Limited and gradual colonisation was encouraged. But in two years, out of a total of 45 million hectares, only 40,000 were divided amongst the peasants, or .009% of the total cultivable land. 28,195 peasants

were settled on the land and 3,859,585 pesetas were granted in credits, during this period.

But even this mild progress was sabotaged by the subsequent Government, which passed an agrarian 'Counter-reform' law in 1935. All previous expropriations were converted into temporary occupations, for which rent was payable retrospectively, and landlords were empowered to eject colonists if they wished and to extort from them large sums in respect of back rent. The net result of all this was that many peasants were forced to abandon their settlements.

The Popular Front Government in March 1936 passed two laws which provided for the settlement of peasants in the poorest parts of Spain—Extremadura, Caceres and Badajoz—and ordered the temporary occupation of uncultivated estates. But the peasants were not satisfied with this very gradual expropriation and, mindful of the Government's election promises, in many cases occupied lands where the owners were absent.

REFORM AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

The first real agrarian reforms were not effected until after the beginning of the Civil War, under Vicente Uribe, the competent and energetic Minister of Agriculture in Caballero's Government. The famous decree of October 1936 legalised the expropriation of lands where the owners were on the rebel side, without indemnification. By May 1937, 3,856,020 hectares, or 15·07% of the area in loyal Spain, had been taken over by the Institute of Agrarian Reform and either distributed amongst the peasants or used as model school farms. The Institute granted a total amount of credits up to October 1937 of 79,539,464 pesetas, in addition to providing a large quantity of seeds, fertilisers and implements.

That the landlords neglected the cultivation of their lands is illustrated by the following table of the uses of land, prior to 1936 :

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Total cultivable land | 45,000,000 hectares |
| Cultivated land | 24,912,000 " |
| Idle land | 2,000,000 " |
| Pasturage (often used for fighting bulls) | 18,080,000 " |

The amount of land under cultivation in Government Spain has

increased by 6% in less than a year up to October 1937. The cultivation of cereals has been especially encouraged, as the largest wheat-growing areas are in rebel territory.

CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTS

Under the Monarchy, the great majority of the peasantry lived under conditions akin to serfdom. There were no restrictions whatsoever upon the employers, who worked their labourers from sunrise to sunset. Frequently so many deductions were made from wages that the peasants had nothing to show for their work. Peasant-owners were equally badly off and gained the barest subsistence from their land. Housing conditions were incredibly primitive. A great number of peasants in Andalusia lived in caves and pits dug out of the hillside.

The Republic attacked some of the worst abuses, limiting the length of the working day, forbidding children under 14 to work more than four months in the year, prohibiting piece work and deductions from wages. The average wage rose to 8 pesetas a day. A peasant who was in prison in Seville in October 1935 described how

Our wives were able to return home at five o'clock in the evening, and prepare the meal, and also had time for sewing and seeing to the children's clothes. We were able to go to meetings of our organisation and spend a little time gossiping in the street.¹

By 1934, however, these regulations had become a dead letter. Hours again became unlimited and wages fell to their previous level. An average taken of the daily wages of agricultural labourers in seven provinces shows the following:

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| Toledo (men) | 1.50 pesetas ² |
| „ (women) | .60 „ |
| Extremadura | 2.25 „ |
| Cordoba | 3 „ |
| Astorga | 2.50 „ |
| Lorca | 3.50 „ |
| Granada | 4 „ |
| Seville | 3 „ (maximum) |

¹ Quoted in Koestler's *Spanish Testament*.

² Value of peseta in 1934 = 6½d., in 1931 = 5½d.

The 1936 Government restored all the previous labour laws ; it disallowed the practice of importing cheap labour from other regions in order to bring down wages in a particular locality, and it established Tribunals for the revision of cases of arbitrary dismissal for political reasons, and for the payment of indemnities arising therefrom.

CONDITIONS TODAY

The peasantry today are substantially better off than ever before. The majority are either individual or collective owners of farms. In these cases they pay no rent for land or house, retain what share of the produce they require for seed or for their own food, and where the farm is collective they have a share of the profit on sales, while a certain proportion of the profits are earmarked for gradual repayment of credits or for reinvestment in the farm. There has been no compulsory collectivisation of farms, as is frequently alleged by opponents of the Government, although at one time the Anarchists earned great unpopularity amongst the peasants in certain districts by requisitioning grain and by attempting to collectivise them forcibly. These activities, however, were suppressed by the Government, but voluntary cooperation for production, manufacture (as in wine or olive-oil making) or marketing, is actively encouraged, and is welcomed by the great mass of the peasantry. By the 24th March 1938, there were 424 agricultural cooperatives, 328 of which were formed after the Ministry of Agriculture's decree on the subject in August 1937. The Land-workers' Union is now the largest single Union in Spain and claims a membership of 700,000.

It was found that the peasants showed little tendency to hoard grain and were very ready to place their produce at the disposal of the troops, provided they were approached in the right way. The hostility to General Franco of the peasants of Spain as a whole, except in Navarre and Castile where they were directly influenced by their priests, is illustrated by the mass flight of peasants from the oncoming 'Nationalist' army into loyal territory. Franco has entirely ruined his chances of gaining their support, not only by the indiscriminate bombardment of villages, but by the introduction of Moorish troops, of whom all uneducated Spaniards have an instinctive and century-old dread.

- (d) General programme of production and distribution.
- (e) A full monthly statement of accounts if requested.
- (f) Quarterly or yearly balance of the business with statement of the uses to which profits will be put.

Those industries most vital to the conduct of the war, e.g., railways and munitions, have come under direct Government control.

Many of the collectivised and cooperative factories have done a great deal of social work. Cultural and sports clubs, libraries, etc., have been established for employees, and crèches and schools for their children. Families of employees who have been mobilised for the army continue to receive their wages, and extra rations have been granted to those engaged in war industries. Nearly every factory has 'adopted' a group of refugees or an army unit, to which they make regular contributions.¹ In most cases, canteens and clinics have been attached to the factories and in some, bomb-proof shelters have been built, towards the cost of which the workers contribute regular sums.

THE COOPERATIVES

The rapid development of the Cooperative movement, which now numbers three million members, has led to the passing of special legislation in its interest. A decree was ordered by the Government on February 25th, 1938, the main points of which were as follows :

- (1) Membership of consumers' cooperatives is open to all. Families of soldiers and munition workers can enter without fee.
- (2) The cooperatives may enter into agreement with federations of producers' cooperatives in order to obtain supplies.
- (3) When these cannot give adequate supplies, the Central Cooperative of Supplies will arrange for purchase.
- (4) In each locality, only one cooperative may submit requisitions to the Central Cooperative, which will attend to orders in strict rotation, granting priority only to districts where the cooperatives have been fused into one. These cooperatives will be exempt from taxes on transactions.
- (5) The Central Cooperative of Supplies, formed by the National Federation of Cooperatives, will be considered as an official body and the Minister of Labour will function permanently as inspector of its work.

¹ Compare the adoption of Basque refugee children in England by factory groups, e.g., in Montagu Burton's at Leeds, Messrs. Cadbury's in Birmingham, and Messrs. Tarrans at Hull.

The essential principle observed in formulating this decree was to guarantee the political independence of the cooperative movement and its complete autonomy in administration, while giving it the full support of the Government. The Prime Minister, Dr. Negrin, when introducing the decree in the Cortes, stressing the value of the cooperatives in the national economy, said :

People find that the cooperative system is the best solution to the economic difficulties resulting from the war . . . The cooperatives have, with their own capital, opened numbers of shops and offices which supply this great mass of consumers with necessities. They have, with the aid of the law, established a just and efficient system of distribution. Under the new national economic structure, this organised mass of consumers demands special consideration. It is a non-political and non-profit-making organisation, based on the ideal of efficient and practical cooperation. This organisation can at the same time be of great value in the distribution of supplies to the civilian population.

INSURANCE

England established a comprehensive system of National Insurance at the beginning of the twentieth century. Spain first introduced insurance under the Republic, from 1931 onwards, when schemes for accident insurance, unemployment insurance, maternity insurance, etc., were established. The number of persons insured has increased enormously during the Popular Front administration and the system is being further extended. The work of the National Insurance Bank has been extended, and a National Savings Bank for sailors and fishermen is also planned.

4 EDUCATION

Formerly Spain was, with the exception of Tsarist Russia, the country with the highest percentage of illiteracy in Europe. In 1860 the proportion was 75.5%. As recently as 1931 it was 52% for the country as a whole, the highest proportion being in the Murcia, Andalusia and Extremadura districts where it was over 60%. Whereas England introduced compulsory elementary education as long ago as 1870, the Spanish monarchy completely neglected this most vital service, and the poverty of the mass of the people was such that their children had to go to work almost as soon as they could walk. The present Minister of Education, Jesus Hernandez, went to work at the age of 10 and educated himself. Such education as was provided was the monopoly of the priesthood.

The sanitary organisations were of the most rudimentary kind. There were a few provincial institutes of hygiene and the minimum services of health control in the ports to satisfy the requirements of international conventions; there was an entirely inadequate number of anti-malaria and anti-tuberculosis centres. The birth-rate was one of the highest in Europe, but a very high proportion of children died in infancy. The average annual number of deaths from malnutrition was over 100,000.

The Republic immediately attacked this all-important problem. Health centres were founded in every locality, hospitals were built and a central organ set up in Madrid to coordinate the activity throughout the country. Within two years of the advent of the Republic, the budget for Public Health had increased from 9,990,000 pesetas to 31,432,600. By July 1936, there were 2,571 beds for tuberculosis, as against 565 in 1931. The needs of the war naturally made it difficult for the Popular Front Government to attend to civil health, but nevertheless by January 1938 no less than 3,727 beds for tuberculosis were available in hospitals in loyal territory. The Republic has carried on an intensive campaign against venereal disease, against malaria, against cancer and against trachoma, that highly infectious eye disease, which is extremely common in Spain. The care of mental defectives has also been the subject of great attention by the health authorities; new asylums and psychopathic institutes have been built and planned by the Popular Front Government. One of the chief dangers resulting from the war has been the outbreak of epidemics, such as typhoid, diphtheria and smallpox. On November 14, 1937, an order was published to the effect that the entire civilian population should be inoculated against these diseases. It is greatly to their credit that the health authorities were able to announce in the autumn of 1937 that, despite conditions highly conducive to the spread of infection, the incidence of epidemics had been no greater than in normal times. One cannot help comparing the success of the preventive measures taken with the Ministry of Health's statement, on the occasion of the Croydon typhoid epidemic, that it would not be practicable to inoculate all persons who had come into contact with the infected area.

SPECIAL PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

Though the problems created by the mass influx of refugees from insurgent territory touch on every aspect of Spanish administration, the main burden has undoubtedly fallen upon the health

organisation, in particular on that of Catalonia. It is impossible to give accurate figures, but a statement issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare in March 1938 estimated that over 3½ million people had taken refuge in Government territory, a great proportion being now in Catalonia. The problem was investigated by two doctors on behalf of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, from whose report the following passage is quoted¹:

The dangers and hardships of this wholesale mixing of populations are impossible to overestimate. The refugees from Murcia and Andalusia are for the most part used to a very low standard of living, many of them never having slept in a bed and some having lived in caves. The majority are verminous and their ideas of sanitation utterly primitive. There is a relatively high incidence amongst them of tuberculosis and trachoma. Those from the north, who include many Basques, are for the most part clean and healthy in spite of the privations they have already been through. There is normally a very low incidence of trachoma both in the northern provinces and in Catalonia. Typhoid fever, however, is endemic in both localities.

The medical emergencies which have arisen and are immediately in prospect may be defined as follows:

- (1) The introduction and spread of new diseases amongst previously healthy northern refugees and Catalans.
- (2) Epidemics due to defective sanitation, lack of soap and to overcrowding.
- (3) Malnutrition, affecting particularly infants, young children and pregnant and lactating women.

With the onset of winter, when housing and bedding must necessarily be found increasingly inadequate, there is every prospect of all these dangers being alarmingly increased.

Most of the refugees, as they arrived, have been fed and then distributed amongst villages and refugee colonies in the country round Barcelona and the frontier. The shortage of skilled doctors, surgeons and nurses, and a desperate lack of medical equipment and anæsthetics has enormously increased the difficulties of the health services.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

The field of maternity and child welfare, which was completely neglected by the Monarchy, has been extended by the Republic, especially since the rebellion. Right in the midst of the war in Madrid, one of the most modern maternity hospitals in Europe has been installed and many maternity homes have been established away from the war zone. The shortage of milk presents a very acute problem. The daily quantity of milk necessary for expectant or nursing mothers, according to Sir John Orr, is two pints. Spanish mothers would be lucky to receive as much in a month, under present circumstances.

¹ *The Lancet*, October 16, 1937.

A number of Children's Health centres, where children are given food and milk and undergo medical inspections, have been founded. In 1936 in the whole of Spain there were only 50 such centres, with accommodation for 10,500 children. By December 1937, in Loyal Spain exclusive of Catalonia, the number was 43, with accommodation for 43,000 children.

6 JUSTICE

Under the Monarchy, justice was an instrument at the disposal of the royal power. Numerous laws existed which were supposed to guarantee the independence, liberty and responsibility of the magistracy and judges, but in practice the whole judicial apparatus was in the power of the monarch. He was able to appoint, transfer and dismiss judicial functionaries. In the provinces, justice was mainly administered by the local landowner and his agents.

Between 1931 and 1936, the judicial system was reorganised. A Supreme Tribunal was set up, consisting of a president and civil, criminal, administrative, social and military chambers, with supreme control over the whole judicial apparatus. 'Territorial' tribunals were established in the most important provincial capitals, to judge civil and criminal cases, while 'provincial' tribunals functioned in all provincial towns and judged penal cases. A 'judge of instruction' (examining magistrate) dealt with civil cases in all important districts and municipal judges, formerly justices of the peace, attended to all the aspects of civil life (marriage, etc.) and judged minor cases of law-breaking. There were established, in addition, industrial tribunals, tribunals dealing with questions affecting minors, military tribunals and a Court of Accounts, which settled such matters as taxation and customs.

JUSTICE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Despite the outbreak of the rebellion the civil judicial apparatus continued to function in a legal manner. The Republic took immediate steps to maintain the organisation intact and to declare null the judicial organs and decisions of courts in insurgent territory. In August 1936 Popular Tribunals were created, in order to increase the speed and efficacy of judicial administration, and to prevent excesses on the part of irresponsible individuals, who took the opportunity of the state of war to pursue their private feuds.

In each province there is one Popular Tribunal, composed of 17 magistrates, three of whom are professional jurists and 14 appointed by the local Popular Front committees. The senior jurist is chairman, and can hold up sentence and obtain re-trial if not in agreement with the decision of his colleagues. When the sentence is capital punishment, the Government must be notified and it can issue a reprieve. The number of judges on these Popular Tribunals was reduced to eight by a Government decree in May 1937.

In October 1936 emergency tribunals were set up to deal exclusively with cases of disaffection or hostility to the régime. These tribunals consist of a president, who must himself be a magistrate or judge by profession, and two judges of evidence, elected by trade unions. Their procedure is similar to that of the Popular Tribunals. They can impose sentences of up to three years in labour camps or maximum fines of 100,000 pesetas. In addition, a 'Tribunal of Civil Responsibility' has been set up to deal with such matters as the infraction of money regulations, and a special court has been established to judge cases of espionage.

Tribunals for children were created as long ago as 1917, but they functioned very perfunctorily until the Republic. Their object is not to prosecute, but to give juvenile delinquents a chance to make good. Children are placed in private homes, rather than in reformatories, or in the 'Casas de Familia' which exist in the largest cities. In January 1937 a decree was passed creating a National Council for the Protection of Minors, and in spite of the war the work for the protection and reclamation of children has been carried on.

PRISONS AND PRISONERS

The treatment of political and military prisoners by the Spanish Government, since the excesses of individuals during the early months of the war, has been humane. An order of April 8, 1937, contains the following articles :

- (1) The lives of rebel combatants, Spanish or foreign, who are made prisoner, will be respected. The prisoners are to be sent without delay to the administrative centres and the authorities responsible for dealing with their cases.
- (2) Combatants from the rebel camp who spontaneously present themselves in the Republican lines will not only have their lives spared but will have the benefit of an enquiry; if this proves their adherence to the Republic, the Government will allow them to practise their previous professions or employment.

The actual prison buildings have been much improved. For example the former seminary of Orihuela has been turned into a

provincial centres. This step was justified in the following terms :

The war is costing us so much money that expenses of a civil nature must be reduced. It is thought advisable to enforce these cuts in the Department of Education.

Even more outspoken are some of his supporters. The Marquis de Loyoza in January of this year attributed the whole trouble to 'this stupid desire of the Government to teach Spanish people to read,' pointing out the folly of allowing the masses to poison their minds by dangerous literature. General Millan Astray, on the occasion of a ceremony at Salamanca in which the author Unamuno participated, stood up and shouted from the steps of the University : 'Down with Intelligence' !

THE BLACK INTERNATIONAL

But a victory for Franco would not only mean a return to the medievalism from which Spain is just beginning to emerge. It would also mean the domination of Spanish life by German and Italian fascism. The war is no longer a military rebellion, such as that of Queipo de Llano in September 1932, which could easily have been quelled. It is no longer a civil war ; it is an open invasion of Spain by foreign powers on a large scale. The schools and hospitals which the Republic built are being wrecked and the children it is educating are being killed by German and Italian bombs. The Spanish people are the victims of Mussolini's ambitions for a Roman Empire, and of Hitler's desire to control ore and copper. The issue is in balance. The overwhelming weight of recent German and Italian intervention has brought Franco to the threshold of Catalonia. Deserted by the democracies, the Spanish people are fighting for their very existence. But whatever the outcome of the war, one thing is certain, Spain, having once tasted freedom and social progress, will be determined one day to enjoy the fruits of her long struggle

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WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, as they are here presented, are the result of a long and arduous task, and have been prepared by the Editor, who has been assisted by the following persons:—
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